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MOSCOW'S NEW SCHOOL FOR NON-BLOC COMMUNISTS

1 November 1963

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GROUP 1
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MOSCOW'S NEW SCHOOL FOR NON-BLOC COMMUNISTS

1. Introduction

Two independent sources recently provided the first available details concerning a new party school in Moscow which enrolls foreign Communists. Although both of these sources provided information about the school's 1962-1963 term, the extent of their knowledge about the school varies, and in a few instances their information is contradictory. Nevertheless, their reports are basically consistent with each other. Variations in the reports are explained in part by differences in the experiences of individual students at the school, and by the fact that they come from different parts of the world and speak different languages.

The new school undoubtedly owes its existence in part to the Sino-Soviet dispute. Beginning in late 1960, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) exerted pressure on Latin American CPs in order to stop the flow of party trainees to a special CP China training school in Peking. Increased training facilities in Moscow were promised. At the same time the Sino-Soviet dispute undoubtedly prompted the CPSU to improve its facilities for party trainees from all free world CPs. By training an increasing number of foreign Communists in the USSR, the CPSU could logically anticipate a greater loyalty to Moscow among CP cadres, especially among the rising younger leaders. A Soviet desire to enroll more foreign Communists than in the past expresses itself in the fact that the new school reportedly offers two six-months courses each school term, in addition to one year and two year courses. The expanded program also provides fresh evidence to foreign CPs of the CPSU's interest in them--something that some CPs have grumbled about in the past. The relative freedom allowed the students at the school, and the obvious Soviet efforts to make their stay enjoyable, is probably also a result of the Sino-Soviet dispute.

The new school also appears to answer another criticism expressed from time to time by some free world CPs. These CPs have pointed out to CPSU officials that the conditions under which they must work differ considerably from the conditions found in socialist countries where CPs are in power. Some foreign trainees in past Soviet training courses have found these differences largely ignored in the courses,

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and have complained that not enough attention was given to the situation in their own countries. The courses reported at the new school appear to be more realistically designed for free world CP members. Even more significantly, the new school is said to enroll only members of free world CPs. The CPSU's Higher Party School, which in the past has enrolled both bloc and free world Communists, will reportedly enroll only Soviet and bloc students in the future.

According to available information, over 45 free world CPs sent a total of 200-250 trainees to the new school during 1962-1963. The training appears to have been well received by the students, most of whom were evidently impressed both by the school and the courses.

The following picture of this new Moscow school derives from the two sources. Where there are differences in their reporting, information from both is given.

2. Name of School

Neither source was certain of the exact name of the school, although each provided what he felt was the approximate name. These approximate names are very similar. One source gave the name as the "Leninist Institute for the Formation of Cadres of the CC/CPSU." The other thought the name was the "Marxist-Leninist International School for Communist Cadre."

According to one source, the cover name of the school was "School of Social Sciences." This name appeared on both a school identity card and a passport issued by the Soviets for student use in the USSR.

3. Location and Physical Description

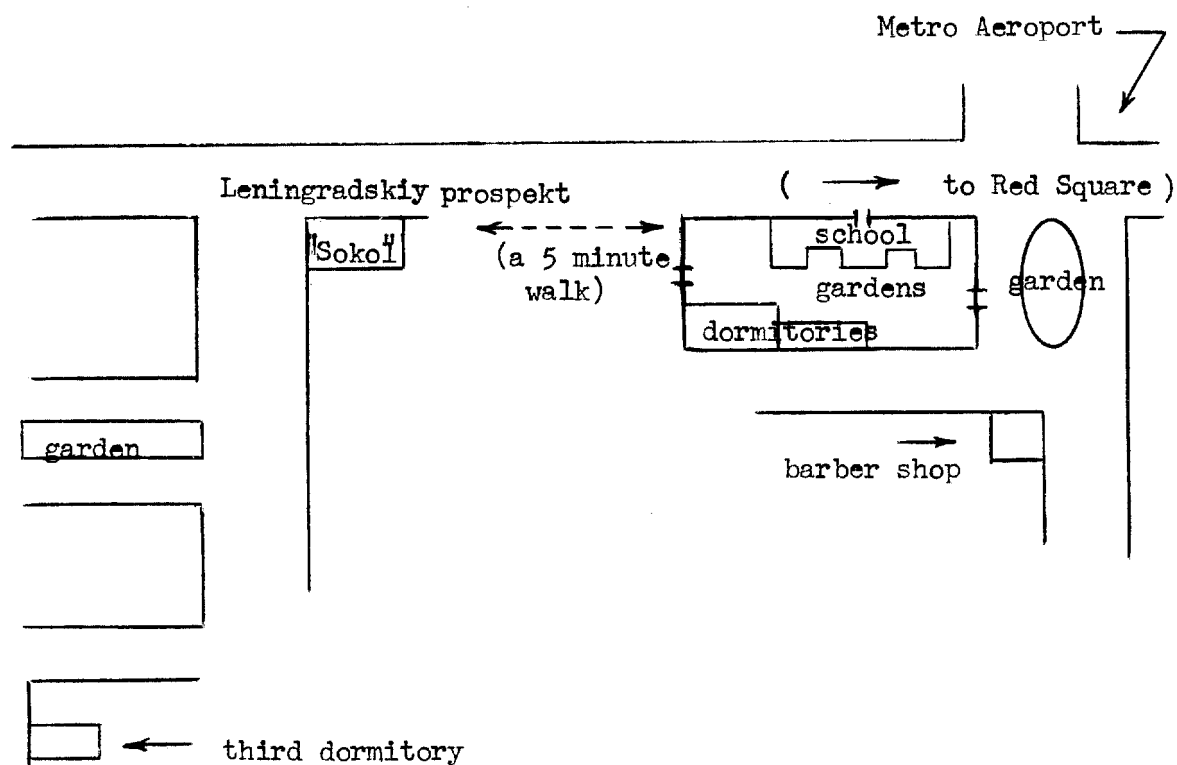
Both sources agreed that the new school is located on the south side of Leningradskiy prospekt (formerly named Leningradskoye shosse). It is very near the Metro station "Aeroport." One source placed the school two blocks from this Metro station, although the other indicated that the station was even closer. Both agreed that there was a park or garden along one side of the school compound, and one noted that on the other side of this park was a cinematographic institute.

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According to one source, the school consisted of two buildings, the main school building and a dormitory. The other noted that within the school compound were the main school building and two dormitories. (These dormitories reportedly adjoined each other, and this may account for the one dormitory mentioned by one of the sources.) About three blocks further south from Leningradskiy prospekt was an additional dormitory building used by the school. A restaurant called "Sokol" was on the corner of Leningradskiy prospekt and a side street leading toward the third dormitory. The following diagrams are based on information provided by one of the sources.

Diagram of general location

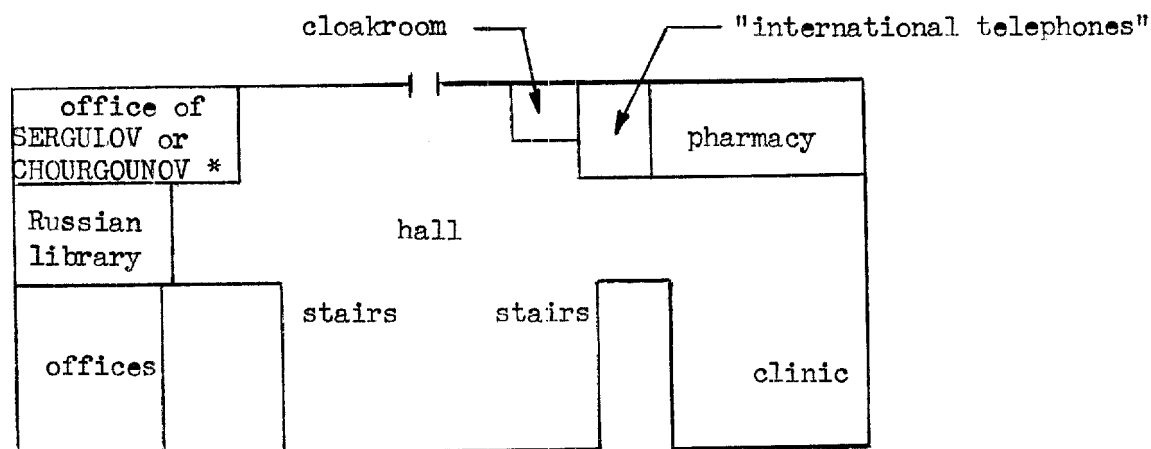


According to the source, the entrance from Leningradskiy prospekt into the main school building had a concierge on duty 24 hours a day. The two entrances into the school grounds indicated on the sides of the compound were described only as being large steel doors. Presumably these were not used by the students, and may not have ever been open.

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Street floor of school building



The main school building was five stories high. It contained the classrooms, offices, a theater, auditorium, clinic, libraries, kitchen, dining rooms, and--according to one source--two bars.

The dormitories were four stories high. These contained the living quarters for the students, plus two barbershops, stores, gymnasium, and cafe. In the gymnasium were facilities for basketball, volleyball, badminton, pingpong, and billiards. One source noted that the cafe (which apparently contained a bar) was open from 1800-2400 each day.

With a few exceptions, each student was assigned a private room. Husbands and wives were assigned accommodations together. One student's room was described as containing a single bed, chest of drawers, desk, desk lamp, side-table, wash stand, small rug next to the bed, and one or two armchairs (from Finland). On each floor of the dormitory was a radio, TV, and phonograph in the hallway. There were also facilities for chess and checkers.

* This was the school security officer. His name was reported differently by the two sources. Details are given in the section entitled Administrative Personnel.

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4. History and Purpose

Both sources reported that the school enrolls members of foreign CPs only, and that there were no Soviet students at the school. One source further emphasized that the school trains only Communist cadre from capitalist countries, and that Soviet trainees and students from socialist countries only will now attend the CPSU's Higher Party School.

The source who knew of the CPSU's Higher Party School stated that the students were told that the new school was created following a decision taken in 1960 at the conference of 81 CPs, and that it falls directly under the CC/CPSU. He described it as a school of a new type, both in concept and in methods of organization and work. It was especially conceived for Communist cadre from capitalist countries, since the development, experiences and mentality of these cadre differ from those of cadre from socialist countries and the political tasks and conditions of struggle for the one type of cadre are different from those of the other type. Working conditions at schools for cadre from socialist countries and those from capitalist countries therefore could not be the same. It was argued that a uniform course of instruction, not taking into account the specific differences between the two types of cadre, would not correspond to the new requirements of the struggle and the new stage through which the international movement is passing: that of the formation on a mass scale of highly qualified cadres. There was also the problem of different languages. All these reasons, according to the source, figured in the decision to create a new international party school.

This source believed that the Higher Party School, which has enrolled foreign Communists as well as Soviets, may have discontinued admitting new trainees from capitalist countries two or three years ago. At any rate, he stated that the Higher Party School graduated its final class containing trainees from capitalist countries in July 1963. Henceforth, according to this source, the Higher Party School will be exclusively organized for Soviet students and trainees from socialist countries.

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Both sources agreed that the Moscow school was newly organized for the 1962-1963 school session. One source stated that the school had formerly been located in a dacha some 20 kilometers from the city of Moscow. Prior to 1 September 1962, however, the school was moved to its present location in the city, and the course at the school which began in September 1962 was the first given at the Moscow location. The ostensible reason for the move was that the students had felt like prisoners at the dacha and had not been allowed to leave the grounds until the course had been concluded. This source thought that the present location of the school is that of a previous school of the same name for CPSU members only.

The other source, who knew nothing of the school's previous location in a country dacha, said only that prior to the 1962-1963 school year the present school buildings may have been a regional party school of Moscow. During the first month or so of the school year there had been a plaque (unspecified) at the entrance of the school; this plaque was removed. There was also no library for international Communist cadre when the school year began, and hence he did not think that the building had been used as a school for foreign Communist cadre in previous years. One student, however, reported that he had a friend who had attended the school previously.

(If the school had been in fact organized only after the November 1960 Moscow meeting of 81 CPs, its first session would evidently have been the 1961-1962 school year; for that first session courses were presumably given at the country dacha location.)

One source noted that the school had really hardly begun, that it was still trying to find its way and as yet it "does not have much experience behind it." As a result it has run into a certain number of organizational problems. Some of these are of a technical nature: enlarging the library, perfecting the interpreters, and finding teachers able to instruct in a foreign language. There are also problems concerning the scheduling of courses, and how much should be covered in a given period of time. While the source believed that these problems would be solved eventually, there are other problems relating to the level of studies and instruction which are more

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complex and difficult. This school is different from an ordinary university. At a regular school, students of a given class have a certain homogeneity--in age, years spent in studies, and subjects covered. But at the new party school there is no such homogeneity. It is therefore difficult to organize the students on a logical basis. Students within one group (or class) differed in many fundamental respects. One might be 18 years old, and another 52; one might have had one year of party experience, and another twenty years; one might have had little formal education and another would have his doctorate. But if the students had been organized to correct those differences, one group would have required instruction in several different languages. Translation was considered impossible, and students were therefore organized for study on the basis of common language. The source commented that this was not the best solution, but it was the only one possible.

One source was told that in the future his CP should not send persons over 35 years of age to the school. This appeared to reflect a Soviet desire to reach the younger members of CPs. It is also apparent that this restriction would help to create greater homogeneity among the students.

In commenting on the close relationship of the school to the CC/CPSU, one of the sources noted that the CC/CPSU followed very closely everything which took place at the school. The most insignificant events were reported daily to the CC/CPSU. He knew of a telephone call between the CC/CPSU and the administration of the school in which the CC/CPSU wanted to know about the reactions of the students following a general lecture conference which had barely terminated. He also reported on information about the students which the CC/CPSU acquires, stating that the information was collected for two different purposes; first to learn more about the individuals, and, second, to aid in assessing the party which had sent them. The second assessment effort, which concerned itself with all the members of a given CP at the school, was aimed at learning the degree of seriousness and responsibility of the entire CP delegation and hence of the party which it represented.

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5. Length of Courses

One source provided precise information concerning the length of the courses offered at the school. He stated that the school is organized into language groups and is further divided into groups studying for six-months, one year, and two year sessions. There are two six-months sessions offered. One runs from September to March; the other lasts from March to August. The one and two year sessions run from 1 September to 15 July, but some students do not arrive by the 1 September date.

Both sources agreed that flexibility is allowed concerning changes in length of courses. One student in fact had his six-months course "extended" to what he called a one year course, with the option of staying for a total of two school years. One source observed that it was sometimes difficult to determine who was in which session, not only because some students changed from one group to another, but also--and more importantly--intercourse between students and between groups was not encouraged.

The students whose experiences have been reported, although in different language groups, began their courses in September 1962. There were differences, however, in the scheduled vacations and "practical training" periods for the different sessions at the school. The students in the six-months session reportedly have no winter vacation. Instead, a practical training period of about two weeks is scheduled either for mid-course or for the end of the course (available information suggests this might come at either time.) Students in the one year session, however, are reported to have about 18 days of vacation in mid-course, with the practical training coming at the end of the course. Practical training consisted of traveling outside of Moscow to study kolkozes and other establishments showing the "practice" of building Communism in the USSR. In at least some cases, students traveled to areas of their own choice.

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Both sources agreed that the Soviets generally encouraged students to remain as long as possible. A student who was offered the option of remaining for two years was unable to do so because of party business at home. He stated that the Soviets expressed the hope that he could return to the school before the end of 1963 in order to continue his training.

One source has explained how the duration of training was determined for the students. In the case of students from his CP, it was the decision of the party at home. He noted that this was undoubtedly negotiated with the Soviet authorities who wanted students to remain as long as possible. The source believed that his party makes its decision based on two factors: (1) the needs of the party or the length of time that the party can spare the student; and (2) consideration of the individual student himself. The party probably had to consider which students were likely to remain active and highly motivated. It obviously would not send a cadre to the school for the two year period if there were reasons to think he would lose enthusiasm or not profit from his schooling.

One source noted that although there were several French Communist students in a six-months session, the CP France in the future will send no more students to the six-months course because the CP France has a four-months school which corresponds roughly to the Moscow six-months sessions. In the future the CP France will send students to the one year course.

The fact that two six-months sessions are offered accounts for the arrival of students at different times during the year. One source also noted that a group of Swedish Communists arrived toward the end of June, 1963, for the one year session that would not begin until the fall. During the summer this group was to study the Russian language.

6. Student Enrollment

During the 1962-1963 school year, an estimated 200-250 students were enrolled. This total included the students in all school sessions, including both six-months sessions. Over 45 CPs sent students to the

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school. Both men and women were included in the student body.

Latin America

Both sources agreed that the largest single group of students came from Latin American CPs. One source estimated that there were about 85 students from Latin America at the school and stated that they came from all Latin American CPs except the CP of Peru. The other source estimated that a little less than half of all students were from Latin American CPs. They agreed that 2 students came from Cuba. One noted that this was the only case where a CP in a "socialist" country sent students to the school. Students from both Martinique and Guadeloupe were at the school.

A breakdown of the number of students from each Latin American CP is not available. The Brazilian CP, however, may have sent the largest group. At least 15 students came from Brazil, according to one source.

Europe

Both sources reported that students at the school came from Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Italy, Spain, Sweden, and West Germany. In addition, one source further reported that students came from Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and Switzerland. He also thought that one student may have come from Cyprus.

The following estimated breakdown of students was provided by a single source, unless otherwise indicated.

Belgium. 2 students were in the first six-months course.

Cyprus. 1 student was believed to come from Cyprus, but this was not certain.

Denmark. 6 or 7 Danes arrived in March 1963 to attend the second six-months course.

Finland. 5 Finns attended the school. They were 2 men, 2 married women, and 1 unmarried woman.

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France. 8 French students attended. 6 of them were in a six-months session and 2 in the one year session. At least 2 of the French students were women. The CP France will not send students to the six-months session in the future because the party has a four-months school which corresponds roughly to the six-months session of the Moscow school and will send students only to the one year session.

Greece. 3 or 4 Greek students were at the school.

Italy. 10 Italians were in different sessions.

Luxembourg. 1 student was in the one year session.

Netherlands. 2 students attended, both believed to be in the one year session.

Norway. 3 or 4 students were present, all of whom were believed to be in the one year course.

Portugal. 4 students attended, of whom 2 were in the first six-months session, 1 in the two year session, and 1 (a woman) who arrived by July 1963 to attend next year's course (length unspecified).

Spain. 3 students were enrolled, 1 in the one year session and 2 in the second six-months session.

Sweden. 8 to 10 Swedes attended, all in the one year session. Toward the end of June 1963 another group of about 8 to 10 Swedes arrived to attend the one year session beginning in the fall of 1963. During the summer this group was to study Russian. There were some girls among the Swedish students. One of these girls was described by one source as one "who drank to excess constantly and was always in someone else's bed."

Switzerland. 1 student was in the two year course.

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West Germany. One source said that there were 6 West Germans at the school. The other stated that there were 8 West Germans. One of the sources further reported that the West German group made three trips back to their country during the school year in order to avoid suspicion regarding their absence and the fact that they were secretly in Moscow. They would spend a few days in their home districts and then return to Moscow. (Neither source identified any Austrians at the school, a curious omission in view of the number of European CPs which did send students. It is at least possible that one or two Austrians were mistakenly identified as German.)

Africa

There is a contradiction in the reporting of the two sources on the African students at the school. One stated that there were no black Africans there. According to this source, the only African students came from the CPs of Algeria, Morocco, Reunion, Tunisia, and South Africa. (The students from Reunion and South Africa apparently were white. The North African students were Arab.) The other source-- who mentioned no specific countries in Africa--referred to the "negroes" from Africa at the school and commented that the African negroes at the school were considered more sensible, agreeable and friendly than their counterparts in other schools in Moscow (such as Lumumba Friendship University).

One of the sources provided the following estimated breakdown of African students.

Algeria. 2 students, both believed to be in the one year session.

Morocco. about 4 students, included in both the one and two year courses.

Reunion. 1 student in the two year course.

Tunisia. 1 student in the one year course.

South Africa. 3 students, including 2 men and 1 woman. (See also the following mention of "North America.")

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North America

According to one source, 2 "North Americans"--a man and wife--attended the school. The other source did not mention any North Americans, either Canadian or United States students. (There would appear to be at least a possibility that the "North American" couple and two of the "South Africans" might be identical; this is speculation, however.) The two "Americans" were described as very studious, well disciplined and proper.

Middle East

Both sources reported that students from India and Iraq were at the school. One source further stated that the CPs of Israel, Nepal, Syria-Lebanon (grouped together by the source), and Turkey sent students.

The following estimated breakdown of students was provided by a single source, unless otherwise indicated.

India. 4 or 5 students in various sessions. The other source stated that the Indian students, as a group, persistently got drunk and staggered in after the midnight curfew at the school.

Iraq. 4 or 5 students, all in the two year session.

Israel. 4 students, all in the two year session. Of these students, 3 were Jewish and 1 was Muslim.

Nepal. 2 students, described as being in a "rather flexible" one year course.

Syria-Lebanon. about 12 students, all but 2 of whom were in the two year course.

Turkey. 2 students. These were described as trying, unsuccessfully, to pass themselves off to other students as Bulgarians.

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Far East

The sources agreed that Australian students were at the school, although they disagreed on the number of these students. In addition, one source also reported that students came from Japan and Indonesia, with the Indonesians making an effort to disguise themselves as Vietnamese. The other source did in fact report that Vietnamese were at the school, but it appears that he did not grasp the fact that these were really Indonesians.

Australia. One source stated that Australian students numbered 6 or 7, all taking the second six-months course. The other stated that there were as many as 18 Australian students at the school.

Indonesia. One source stated that this was one of the largest delegations at the school, numbering from 15 to 20 and spread out in the three school sessions. There were 2 women. The group made a "pitiful" effort to disguise themselves as Vietnamese, which was soon uncovered when some of the other French-speaking students found that the group could not speak French. They also had no books on Vietnam in their own libraries and one even failed to identify the photograph of a well-known North Vietnamese leader. The other source stated that there were 21 Vietnamese students present, a figure close to the total of 15 to 20 given for the Indonesians.

Japan. 1 student was at the school, according to one source.

7. Classes and Courses

Classes, or student groups, were organized on the basis of language and length of courses taken, and were composed of a limited number of students. One source knew that one group was composed of 9 students; the other knew of another group of 18. Each of these groups contained members of different CPs. For the major languages of the world there would be a number of different groups organized.

Classes were held from 0900-1500 six days a week, with a ten minute break every hour. In addition to the classes, seminars were held regularly to discuss the materials covered in the classrooms.

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General conferences of two-hours duration were also held in a special hall where all the students assembled and used earphones to hear simultaneous translations of speeches given by important guest speakers, many of whom were leaders of foreign CPs. Classes and seminars, on the other hand, were conducted in the language of the particular language group, with interpreters used where necessary.

Both sources reported that courses were given in political economy, philosophy, theory and tactics, and the history of the CPSU. One source further reported that the history of the world labor movement was studied and the other added that the economic situation in his own country was a subject of study, (and further, that each student studied the economic situation of his own particular country). (All of these subjects are similar to those which have been studied previously by foreign Communists in the CPSU's Higher Party School.) Examinations were held in all major subjects and the students were given from five to six days to prepare for them.

One source has set forth what he believed to be the classroom subjects covered in each of the school sessions.

Two Year Session

History of CPSU - 180 hours; seminars and lectures.

Philosophy - 220 hours; seminars and lectures.

Political Economy - 240 hours.

Theory and Tactics - 200 hours; seminars and lectures.

Special: study of the political and economic situation of the student's country, with student participation.

Russian: 450 hours (two hours each day).

One Year Session

(This included the same subjects as above but with fewer seminars.)

History of CPSU - 120 hours.

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Philosophy - 190 hours.

Political Economy - 180 hours.

Theory and Tactics - 100 hours.

Economic situation of the student's country - 40 hours.

Russian: optional.

Six-Months Session

History of CPSU - 70 hours.

Philosophy - 90 hours.

Political Economy - 110 hours.

Theory and Tactics - 100 hours.

Situation in the student's country - 30 hours.

The major courses can be briefly summarized.

Political Economy. This subject was presented essentially as a social science, with the study directed at the evolution of society under different economic systems. Capitalism and colonial imperialism were studied, as well as the development of socialism and its economic effects. Textbooks in this subject included one by the author NIKITIN,* and one entitled Manual of Political Economy, both published by the USSR Academy of Sciences.

* Probably P.V. NIKITIN, author of the Handbook of Political Economy.

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Philosophy. This course traced the development of different philosophies throughout the world. It included, for example, texts and studies of Socrates, Plato, St. Thomas Aquinas, Kant, Hegel, Berkeley, Dewey, Marx and Lenin. Pavlov was also studied. Transitions between different philosophies were examined. A large part of the course was devoted to dialectic and historic materialism, including its historic forms and dialectic laws. Coexistence between systems was touched upon. Khrushchev's program for the CPSU as presented at the CPSU's 22nd Congress was studied. One textbook used in this course was entitled Principles of Marxism-Leninism, (probably Foundations of Marxism-Leninism) published by the USSR Academy of Sciences. Another textbook, and one considered more valuable by one source, was Konstantinov's Fundamentals of Marxist Philosophy.

Theory and Tactics. This course was concerned with the theory and tactics of the international Communist movement, internationally and for particular areas of the world. The course traced the birth of scientific communism to the creation of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, through the Comintern, to the creation of peoples' democracies. Included as subjects of study were the 20th and 22nd CPSU congresses, the 1957 meeting of CPs, and the 81 party conference in 1960. Students studied the present Socialist International, the struggle of CPs for unity with socialists, and the struggle of CPs in underdeveloped countries. The histories and present position of CPs in many different countries were studied, sometimes in detail. Some discussions centered on how CPs could be developed in areas in which they did not already exist. The CP of China was apparently not one of the CPs studied in any detail, but some discussion of Sino-Soviet differences evidently occurred in this course. One source noted that there were no books for this course except those in the Russian language.

History of the CPSU. This course traced the beginnings and rise of the CPSU, and the industrialization and socialization of the USSR. The Stalin cult of personality received considerable treatment. The course also included study of the Komsomol, CPSU party programs, and the consolidation of party unity throughout the USSR.

Books for the courses were obtained from the school's library. One source observed that each student was assigned a number for use in obtaining books from the library.

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8. Administrative Personnel

The two sources provided confusing information about the school's rector and/or director. It is necessary, therefore, to set forth both versions.

According to one source, the school is headed by a rector (name not given). He was responsible for the courses given, selection of students, and overall planning for the school. He did not mix with the students, was rarely seen by them, and then only at conferences when he would present certain selected guest speakers. He was reportedly a 50 year old engineer who was sick in a CP hospital in May 1963. The school's director was (fnu) VINOGRADOV. Although he remained in his office most of the time, VINOGRADOV also discussed problems of Communism in the conferences and in some of the seminars. He told the students that he liked them to be frank and was heartened when they made criticisms in their discussions because "that is the only way a healthy atmosphere can be maintained." He was about 60 years old, about 6 feet tall, very fat, bald, with big ears and with the supports of his glasses perched high above his ears. He is a Muscovite, married, and has at least one daughter.

The other source stated that during the first four months of the school year the institution was run by an assistant director "who certainly no longer exists," a (fnu) VINOGRADOV. He was in very poor health and was hospitalized a good part of this period, during which time the school was directed by "one of the assistants of the assistant director." A rector of the school was subsequently named. This was (fnu) DIRGENKA (the name may be garbled). He was about 40-45 years old, very likeable, inspired confidence, and seemed to be very intelligent. He was known for his sense of organization. According to one of the professors, DIRGENKA was director of the Institute of Foreign Affairs in Moscow before coming to the school. The source heard that DIRGENKA had taken a strong position against some of the policies of the security official at the school (see below for SERGULOV or CHOURGOUNOV). These policies were then suppressed and the security official was severely criticized by DIRGENKA during a meeting.

Both sources agreed on the identity of the security control official at the school, although the pronunciation of his name was reported differently.

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One source called him A.B. SERGULOV. The other source said that his name was CHOURGOUNOV. One student found this man to be helpful and friendly, although his security measures were sometimes distasteful. The other source said that this official was obnoxious and generally detested by the students for his arbitrary and officious behavior, which included entering students' private rooms without knocking. He was a pure police type who followed and executed orders strictly according to the book. According to both sources, this official was the subject of several complaints by students.

The functions of the security control officer were described as:

- a. having charge of all security controls over the students, including surveillance "protection";
- b. instructing students on maintaining the secrecy of the school and their enrollment there;
- c. retaining all student passports, and keeping the lists of the students' true and false names and the lists of the professors;
- d. signing and controlling all school identity cards;
- e. making arrangements and preparing itineraries for all trips by students;
- f. administering payment of the monthly stipend to the students;
- g. probable collection of all information from "Soviet spies" employed at the school;
- h. supervising a subordinate who was responsible for obtaining tickets for students to any Moscow performances (Bolshoi, movies, etc.);
- i. handling procurement of the tickets for the students returning home, and providing them with their pocket money for the return trip.

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He had a complete dossier (background, personality, capacity, etc.) on each student prior to his arrival at the school. He also advised students on any problems they might encounter on their return trip home. For some Latin American students, for example, he supplied a name and address in Sao Paulo, Brazil, in case the students traveling through that city should need assistance. This assistance would include a place to stay and even money, if needed.

Neither source provided the names of other school administrative personnel. One source, however, noted that the school was swarming with a multitude of employees, aides of the director, and others in charge of various matters. As an example, he noted that there might be from 3 to 4 women in the cloakroom at any one time. He said that this was a subject of considerable light-hearted jibing at the Soviets, but he thought that the Soviets were thoroughly aware of their over-powering bureaucracy.

9. Administrative and Security Procedures

Upon their arrival at the school the students turned over their passports, which were held for the duration of their stay in the USSR. Provisional identity cards were then issued to them. One source claimed that all the students were given pseudonyms at the school. The other stated that not all students were assigned pseudonyms, but that pseudonyms were assigned only to Latin American students, to students from illegal CPs, and to students in whose cases it was desired to conceal the fact of their party training in Moscow. The pseudonyms were often (perhaps always) selected by the students themselves. The provisional identity cards were issued in the pseudonyms. (If false names were not used, the card was presumably issued in true name; this is not entirely clear, however.) Students generally knew each other at the school only by pseudonym, although true names were exchanged in special cases of friendship.

The "small" provisional identity cards were for use in entering the school building and compound. They contained no photographs. Shortly after the students' arrival a photographer came to the school to take their pictures. About one month afterwards a second identity card was issued and the provisional one was picked up. This second identity card was

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also to be used exclusively for entering the school. According to one source, a passport was also issued to the students, in their false names, for travel within the USSR. (The source believed that this type of passport is generally issued to all travelers in the USSR who are exiles or in the USSR "illegally.") The cover name for the school was "School of Social Sciences," and this name appeared on both the identity card and the passport.

SERGULOV or CHOURGOUNOV, the school's security officer, signed and controlled all identity cards. All students and professors were required to present their cards upon entering the school, and no one was allowed to enter without it. Entrance by card was accepted until midnight without question, but explanations were required of any students entering after that hour.

The students were free to move about Moscow on their own--to sightsee, to go to any restaurant, bar, theater, etc. They could make Russian acquaintances, visit Russian homes, and--with a few exceptions--do exactly what they wanted to do outside the school. The school authorities did, however, tell them that it was preferable that they refrain from making contact with fellow countrymen studying at the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University and other schools in the USSR. Nevertheless, this admonition was not always adhered to. Students were also cautioned not to reveal to anyone outside the school where or what they were studying.

One student stated that shortly after his arrival at the school he was given 200 rubles with which to purchase clothes; he found this sum to be entirely adequate. Both sources agreed that a monthly stipend of 180 rubles was paid to students and that it was adequate for most students. One student stated that he spent usually about 2, and never more than 3, rubles a day for food. He noted that the Latin American students spent the least and he believed that they were able to save a good deal. The Arab students appeared to spend the most. Both sources reported that the monthly allowance of 180 rubles was about double the money given students at other Moscow schools, such as Friendship University.

Students arriving at the school were also given complete medical examinations over a period of two or three months. Complete medical

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dossiers were maintained on the students throughout their stay at the school.

The mailing address of the school was:

Post Box 1279
Moscow A-57

Mail for students was left on tables on each floor of the dormitory where the students could pick it up. Neither source provided any real explanation of mail procedures at the school. Some of the mail left on the tables was apparently addressed in true name and some in pseudonym. Even in cases where students were supposed to be using only pseudonyms, some mail would apparently arrive addressed in true name. One source commented that this indicated a lack of security on the part of students in setting up the mail arrangements for their Moscow visit. (The implication here is that the students were supposed to let their correspondents know how to write to them, presumably by furnishing the correspondents with their false names.) In the case of some students from Central America, one source learned that mail sent to them was supposed to be sent to a certain addressee (a pseudonym) in Paris, and from there re-mailed to that same addressee in Moscow. Whether there were similar arrangements for any other students is not known.

That arrangements were made to protect the secrecy of some students was also illustrated in the case of the West German trainees. It has already been mentioned that these students made three trips back to West Germany during the school year in order to avoid arousing suspicion regarding their absence and revealing the fact that they were secretly in Moscow. In each instance they would spend a few days in their home districts and then return to Moscow.

At the end of their school terms, students were given return travel and pocket money for the trip home. One trainee stated that as a one-year student he was given \$200 US; the six-months students were given \$100 US. This money was given for no particular purpose except for travel expenses (in addition to the ticket) and pocket money.

One member of the student group from each CP was head of that particular delegation (probably selected by the CP prior to the group's

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departure from home). He acted as spokesman and trouble-shooter for members of the delegation and as his party's chief representative at the school. He would be the one, for example, who discussed with Soviet authorities whether any student in his group ought to be sent home--because of illness, inability, or any other reason. On matters affecting correspondence and liaison between the CPSU and his CP, this delegation leader might also deal with representatives of the CPSU's International Department (responsible for foreign CP liaison).

Various Soviet security practices were known to both sources. They mentioned surveillance of students outside the school. One source provided specific information. Based on all available information, however, student surveillance does not appear to have been continuous.

Some students, upon discovering that they were being surveilled, had confronted their follower and asked why he did not join them instead of following them. The surveillant finally replied that this was not permitted. The students later protested to the school authorities about the surveillance and asked why it was necessary. VINOGRADOV explained that it was necessary to protect them against getting shot by enemy agents or against having their pictures taken by strangers. He cited the case of four Australian students who were walking together in Moscow and had their picture taken by a stranger. The photographer was accosted by the surveillant and he took to his heels. The surveillant then called the police who pursued the photographer in a car and caught him. The photographer was placed in jail for his "offense."

At the same time, there is other information from this source suggesting that surveillance may not have been a constant thing. He mentioned that Indian students persistently got drunk and staggered in after the midnight curfew at the school. He stated that many Latin American students frequently stayed out beyond the curfew; their principal reason for lateness was that they had gone somewhere with local women. The source told of one student who had picked up a girl on the street, taken her to a restaurant where he got drunk, and then had his money taken by the street-walker, who then disappeared. Not being able to pay for his dinner he was taken to the police station. Refusing to show any identification (the police had asked to see his "documents"), he was made to spend the night in jail. Next morning the police forcibly took

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his identity document from him, found out that he was a student at the school, apologized profusely, and gave him a ride back to the school. SERGULOV or CHOURGOUNOV then asked him why he had not shown the police his identity document. The student reminded the security official that the students had been told not to show this to anyone. The official then admitted that the student had conducted himself correctly.

(There are some unexplained aspects of this story in terms of student documentation. The source of the account did not mention that the students had both a school identity card and a passport for travel in the USSR; that information was supplied by the other source. In the above story the student evidently had only his school identity card with him, and that card, reportedly, was to be used exclusively for entering the school. It is not clear whether the students kept in their possession their internal passport, or whether this was used only on trips outside of Moscow. The source of the story stated that when the security official had told the students not to show their identity card in order to maintain the secrecy of the school, he had told them to telephone the school in case of a problem. The number to call was D 7006, the school's central telephone number.)

The other source reported that he had heard of two students who were arrested because they were roaming in a secret district of the city. After identifying themselves and after the police had properly verified their story, they were escorted back to the school. (Again, this at least suggests that there was no surveillance of these students at that time. It would also seem unlikely that when groups of students split up in the city, going separate ways, each member of the group could have been kept under surveillance.)

Both sources agreed that the rooms of students were searched. One student said that on several occasions he had encountered SERGULOV or CHOURGOUNOV in his room. On one occasion this official entered without knocking and the student told him that if he tried that again he (the student) would make serious trouble for him with the school authorities. The other source believed that janitors at the school went through all pieces of scrap paper, boxes and bags in the student's rooms, which were normally empty between 0900-1500. This source reported that a student claimed that he had made a "trap" and proved to himself that this searching was done. When the student asked VINOGRADOV about such

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security measures, he was told that they always "expect" to catch a spy through such measures.

One source reported that the school building is well guarded at all times. One guard is located by the entrance door. Beyond the door was a barred entrance way, which opened on an inner office where two guards were located at a desk. The inner office opened on the big hall of the main floor. (See page 4 for the diagram of the first floor as reported by the other source.) The source did not believe that any kind of electric alarms were used. He said that all the guards reportedly appeared to be 50 years of age or older. (He surmised that this was deliberate because they were more mature and less inclined to talking.)

This source also stated that some guards were stationed in buildings on the opposite sides of the streets surrounding the school. He said this was proved to him by the following reported incident. A student was leaving the school in the company of one of the professors when he noticed a Soviet citizen taking pictures of the building. As this person was leaving the area, he was accosted by two uniformed militamen who came from across the street, confiscated his camera and took him into custody. The professor then mentioned that guards were stationed outside the school buildings.

Students were discouraged--at least initially--against involvement with the school's employees. One source reported that a student asked a pretty clerical girl her name. After she told him her first name, he next asked where she lived. She promptly told him that it was none of his business and asked why he wanted to know. After he said it did not matter, she persisted in asking him why he wanted to know. Shortly after she left the room, the student was called before SERGULOV or CHOURGOUNOV who told the student that it was not nice to ask the girl her name or address because the students should not get involved with people in the school. The other source has indicated, however, that DIRGENKA changed this rule.

One source provided an interesting story concerning cooperation between the CPSU and a CP having students at the school. The source heard that all of the Ecuadorean students left rather suddenly before

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the end of their course. They went home to meet a crisis within the CP Ecuador where the party apparently risked being taken over by the pro-Chinese wing of its Central Committee. The Ecuadorean students, all composed of pro-Soviet members of the Central Committee, were ordered to return to make up a majority in favor of the Soviet faction.

An earlier paragraph noted that one source reported the school's central telephone number to be D 7006. The source also reported that on the first floor of one dormitory the "administrative" telephone number was D7 7981. On the second floor of that dormitory a telephone number was D7 6155.

10. Teaching Staff

One source reported that it was estimated that there were approximately 100 professors at the school. They were generally addressed in their true name after social relations were established, but in class and elsewhere they were addressed as "Comrade Professor." Some of the professors employed at the school also had other teaching posts.

Available information does not fully explain the organization of the teaching staff at the school, but there is information suggesting that the professors were grouped according to the subjects taught and that each such group was headed by a "chair." That is, the person responsible for all instruction in political economy, for example, would hold the chair of political economy and all other professors of political economy were subordinate to him. There was apparently a chair for Russian language instruction as well as for the other main subjects. In addition to the academic chairs, there were evidently also three deanships, each dean being responsible for a specific course (two years, one year, or six months courses).

One source has commented that because of the mixture of students within a class, the professors often had trouble in judging the worth of the students. This was especially true at the beginning. He reported that one professor, after four months of teaching a class, confessed frankly that he was incapable of giving an exact and impartial judgment of each student. The source noted that the teachers could not require the same answers from all students. The students took advantage of this in a

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fruitless attempt to justify the futility of examinations in a party school.

The combined knowledge of the two sources provided the identities of only a few professors.

Philosophy professors

Yuri (LNU). He is about 60-65 years of age and is (or was) employed by the Ministry of Education. He once taught in China. He is described as intelligent, crafty, and a man who knows his subject very well. A source noted that despite his efforts to attack the ideas of Stalin, his Stalinist indoctrination kept coming out. He is said to use "old-fashioned" methods of teaching.

Damian PRETEL. He is a Spanish-Soviet citizen, 32 years old, 5' 10" in height, very thin, and with greying hair. He wears glasses. His previous work was as a professor in the Lumumba Friendship University and also as an announcer, editor and translator for Spanish-language programs of Radio Moscow.

Political Economy professors

Yuri Nikolayevich POPOV. His specialty was capitalism/imperialism. He had worked for the World Federation of Trade Unions and also had spent two years working for Problems of Peace and Socialism (the international Communist publication published in Prague). He has not yet had a chance to complete his doctorate, but one source thought that his doctoral study will be concerned with the formation of the working class in Africa. He is 33 years of age and is described as a nervous type, disorderly, and unsure of himself. He is also said to be something of a clown and to have had difficulty in explaining certain problems to the students. Some students thought that he had an "incorrect" attitude toward them, as he had a tendency to treat them as he might treat Soviet students.

Mikhail (LNU). His specialty was socialism. He is about 38-40 years of age and has a strong personality. He was considered to be a good teacher, but his drinking (of cognac) sometimes led

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him to do things which he would never have done when sober. A source thought that he had a very sympathetic personality but was on the lazy side.

Enrique ANDRES. He is a 39 year old Spanish-Soviet citizen, about 5' 9" in height. He is married to a Soviet and he is also a professor at the Lumumba Friendship University.

Theory and Tactics professors

(fnu) TSCHILIAPOV (phonetic). He is described as 5' 11" tall, and about 38-39 years old.

(fnu) EFRINOVA. She is a woman of about 55-60 years of age. She is said to have had some 20 years teaching experience at the CPSU's Higher Party School. She was a good teacher who treated her students properly, without favoritism and without regard to their experience in the party. (A source noted that some teachers tended to give undue consideration to the students' background, and that this resulted in some dissention among the students.)

(fnu) RUDENKOV should probably also be listed among the political economy professors. He was named by one source as a professor in the History of the World Labor Movement. RUDENKOV was described as about 63 years of age, 5' 10" tall, and fat. He was friendly and very well liked.

Professors of the History of the CPSU

(name unknown). This was a woman, about 45 years of age, 5' 6" tall, and fat.

Yuri KLIMOV (the last name is approximate). He was described as being very intelligent. One source thought that this professor also taught at a special party school for Congolese students outside of Moscow.

11. General Student Conditions

Both sources stressed that the Soviets made every effort (by Soviet standards) to make the schooling and the extra-curricular

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activities of the students as pleasant as possible. Some of these efforts, such as the relative freedom of movement allowed the students, have already been mentioned.

One source reported that meetings within the school itself were even held between the cooks and the chiefs of the various student delegations in order to improve the meals. Efforts were made to cook meat, for example, in the manner preferred by the various students.

International newspapers were readily available. These included newspapers of the students' CPs as well as others. Among these "others", only Le Monde and Der Spiegel were specifically mentioned.

As mentioned on page 24, one source reported that a student had no hesitation in telling SERGULOV or CHOURGOUNOV that if that official came into his room again without knocking he would make serious trouble for him with the school authorities. He stated that the student felt secure in talking this way because he was aware that the school administration was bending over backwards to avoid incidents and to make the students feel as comfortable and free as possible. This source also reported that he had not learned of any Soviet provocation attempts, and, again, stressed that he believed that the Soviet authorities were bending over backwards to avoid any incidents or flaps. (See page 18 for the report of DIRGENKA's criticism of the security official.)

Efforts to please the students were noticeable in the school arrangements reported by one source whereby tickets were obtained for the students to any performance of anything they wished to see, whether at the Bolshoi Theater, a play, or a movie. The source stated that a student had only to ask at the security official's office for the tickets, a telephone call would be made, and the tickets would be made available. The source appeared to be amazed at the ease with which these tickets could be acquired. Students delighted in being able to assure their Soviet girl friends that they could go to any show they wished. The girl friends were reportedly duly impressed.

One source made no comment upon the morals of the students, but the other source made several observations. He stated that the morals of the students in the dormitory left something to be desired.

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Reporting that there were no separate quarters for the men or the women, and that they lived in adjoining rooms, he said that they were extremely free in their relations with each other. The Europeans were the most amoral and most consistent in having intimate relations with each other. The Latin Americans were fair in their conduct.

Both sources reported on the pronounced anti-Semitism among Soviets in Moscow, although neither source related this bias in any way to the school's officials. One source did comment that there was no contact between the Syrian/Lebanese students and the Israeli students at the school except for a little show of friendship toward the end of the school term. Certain other Arab students, however, were quite friendly toward the Israeli students.

12. Guest Speakers

The program of having guest speakers at the school was evidently designed to expose the students to Soviet national and party affairs, to current international events, and to the experiences and problems of different foreign CPs. During the 1962-63 school term over twenty-five Soviet speakers gave special lectures. At least a dozen foreign CP officials are also reported to have addressed the students. Guest speakers addressed the students usually about once a week.

Soviet national accomplishments and programs were presented in numerous fields. The economic progress of the USSR was discussed. Some lectures dealt with the planning of the USSR economy. The development of Soviet science was covered, with one of the lectures on this subject devoted to the role of scientists in disarmament, special attention being given to disarmament problems and controls. Several lectures dealt with Soviet educational programs, including the status of higher education in the USSR as well as technical and professional teaching. Lectures were given on the social security program in the USSR, and on the state of wages. The development of Soviet literature was discussed by an official of the Union of Soviet Writers. Other lectures also dealt with trade unions in the USSR, and with the Komsomol organization. The lecture on the Komsomol was given by its first secretary, S.P. Pavlov. An army general is reported to have given a lecture on the activities of the CPSU in the Soviet army and navy, and an assistant director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism spoke on the history of World War II.

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Other lectures were more directly related to Soviet party matters and to the studies at the school. One of the best of these appears to have been a talk by (fnu) Korionov (believed to be V. G. Korionov, deputy chief of the CPSU's International Department). He discussed the theory and tactics of the international Communist movement and the movement for national liberation. He stressed the achievements of the world Communist movement to date, and also noted that socialism is becoming more and more a part of the movement for national liberation, which he emphasized as the most important movement of the present era. Noting that the CPSU's example inspires all other CPs, he stated that the new school helps to make the CPSU's experiences available to other CPs. Another lecture provided an introduction to the study of the experiences of the CPSU, one of the courses at the school.

On at least two occasions, lecturers came from the CPSU's Ideological Commission. One of these lecturers discussed propaganda, explaining that there must be a fusion of Marxist-Leninist ideas and political work among the masses. The students also heard a report on a meeting of the CC of the CPSU. (This may have been the June 1963 plenary session.) It is believed that this report was delivered by B.N. Ponomarev, secretary of the CPSU and chief of the CPSU's International Department. Included in this report was a discussion of the ideological activities and differences of the CPSU with CP China. The speaker noted that these differences concerned war or peaceful co-existence; peaceful or non-peaceful evolution to socialism; and the national liberation movement.

Soviet journalists gave some of the special lectures on current international events. An Izvestia correspondent, for example, reportedly spoke on the US "provocation" against Cuba; another Izvestia reporter discussed the peace treaty with Germany. A Pravda reporter (believed to be Yuriy Zhukov) spoke on the Caribbean crisis, the German attitude on peaceful coexistence, and about NATO. Another journalist discussed, among other things, American foreign policies and the present administration in Washington. CPSU officials also lectured on international events. A member of the CC/CPSU is reported to have addressed the students about several critical international issues, including the Cuban situation, continued tension between China and India, the German problem,

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and the situation in Yemen. A member of the CPSU's agitprop department is reported to have discussed Sino-Soviet differences and other important international problems. One lecturer (unidentified) apparently discussed the question of Soviet aid to Nasser.

Many of the foreign CP leaders who addressed the students described the political situations existing in their own countries. These speakers reportedly included Tim Buck, national chairman of CP Canada; Henry Winston, vice chairman of CPUSA; a secretary (unknown) of CP Portugal; Claude Jones, CC member of CP Australia, who was accompanied by CC member Brown (possibly Wilton John Brown); Ernest Burnelle, chairman of CP Belgium; and Leslie Morris, general secretary of CP Canada.

Some of the foreign CP speakers, however, reportedly discussed more complicated and subtle matters. Lionel Soto, member of the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations (OIR) of Cuba who is in charge of cadre training for the OIR, discussed the development of the Cuban revolution. He is reported to have stated that the organization of a Cuban CP would be carried out after the fight against sectarianism. He also discussed the Anibal Escalante affair, noting that Escalante did not understand that a new generation of Communists had been born. A member of the CC of CP France discussed not only the political, social and economic events in that country since 1958, but also inner party differences as reflected in the Servin-Casanova affair. Mario Alicata, member of the political directorate of CP Italy and managing editor of Unita, dealt with the 10th congress of CP Italy, and with Albanian and Chinese attacks on CP Italy that took place at the time of that congress. A vice president of CP Indonesia (believed to be Njoto) lectured on the activities of the PKI and also on the organizational problems of that party. He noted that agreement and harmony had, in spite of obstacles, been achieved between the PKI and a "Trotskyite" party in Indonesia. Luiz Carlos Prestes, president of the Brazilian CP, reportedly gave a lecture which dealt largely with the internal situation in Brazil but noted that the CP members there support the CPSU "on the problem of the international Communist movement." Larbi Bouhali, first secretary of CP Algeria, discussed the situation in Algeria and the role of Ben Bella. He stated that if Ben Bella should disappear, there would be no progressive political force to replace him.

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Other lectures of particular interest were reportedly given by Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of CP Portugal, and by Oscar Creydt, secretary general of CP Paraguay. Cunhal spoke on the "clandestine party," based on the experiences of CP Portugal. He discussed rules of clandestinity, including signals, methods of transportation, and the use of very fine thin paper (easily hidden and weighing little) for party documents. Creydt discussed the overthrow of the present regime in Paraguay, with particular emphasis on the role of armed conflict. He is reported to have stated that "the only direction to be taken is through armed conflict," that a revolutionary situation exists in Paraguay, and that the CP is bent upon creating the conditions for an armed insurrection. He said that the CP was studying the military experiences of Venezuela, Cuba, and Algeria. Commenting on peaceful coexistence, he noted that this concept is not opposed to the idea of an armed conflict for winning national independence.

The students were also addressed on the Caribbean crisis by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Minister of Foreign Trade of Cuba, who emphasized throughout that Cuba has faith in the Soviet government and party. He concluded his speech with the observation that Cuba cannot develop without the help of the socialist camp, especially military aid.

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